Stitt Wilson Special

The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule

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Christianity in O[illegible]ralls

An Appeal to the Church on Behalf of Socialism

By J. Stitt Wilson

(An address delivered before the Chicago Methodist Preachers' Association, Chicago, June 29, 1914.)

Autobiographical

Just about twenty-five years ago I came to Chicago to enter Garrett Biblical Institute and Northwestern University. Twenty-one years ago, at the suggestion of Rev. M. E. Cady, D. D., then presiding elder of the Aurora District, of the Rock River Conference in which I was preaching, I was transferred from the Aurora District and given charge of the Erie St. M. E. Church in the Chicago District. In the year 1896 while still a student in Northwestern University, and pastor of the same church, I was ordained. In 1897 I resigned the pastorate and have since given my life to the Socialist cause.

In May of this year (1914) I delivered an address* in the city before the Chicago Teachers' Federation, and Dr. Cady was present [illegible] preciation of my Socialist utterance upon that occasion and requested me to speak on the subject of Socialism before this body. It is needless to say that I am very happy to comply with his request. It is in the retrospect of this quarter of a century that has elapsed since I first occupied Methodist pulpits and my subsequent activity in the Socialist movement that my message today receives a certain accentuation. The step was taken in loneliness and against opposition and hostility. I was then following a still small voice which now is thundering in the halls of time. What was then a mere clue in great darkness is now an open illumined pathway through the perplexing moral and social problems of our day. To reap where you sow, to see the fruits and triumphs of one's cause, to find history and human evolution justifying your convictions, is surely a grateful experience to a seeking heart.

When Dr. Cady transferred me twenty years ago to the city of Chicago he became particeps criminis in making me a Socialist. The very first days I spent in pastoral work among the people on the west side of this great city uncovered to me such social and economic conditions of the working classes that I hope never to forget until they become memories and memories only and not the bleeding facts in the life of the nation.

As I went from home to home in the simple ways of love of a humble unknown Methodist preacher, the gaunt spectacle of poverty a[illegible]st a world's abundance like a death-head st[illegible]me in the face. Following the injunction [illegible]n Wesley, my only business was to save [illegible]ouls, to warn the erring, to reprove the sinner, to guide the seeker, and to teach the people the way of salvation. No human being had anything to do in directing my attention to the social condition of the people, and through the sight of these conditions to the study of the social problem. No presiding-elder, no fellow-preacher, no professor of systematic or practical theology, no professor in college, no socialist or agitator in Chicago, no book—none of these even interrupted my simple program of "saving souls" in the midst of this capitalistic civilization, none of these directed my thought to the wrongs and injustice of the civilization itself.

The hunger, want, penury, limitation, and tragedy in the life of the common people—this was my teacher.

The church which I served for four years was well located to be my school of training for Socialism. On one side not far away were the beautiful boulevards, along which the glittering equipages of the rich rolled past spacious lawns and palatial residences. The north and west was densely populated with artisans and laborers, and eastward towards the throbbing centre of the metropolis, along the river were the well-known sixteen, seventeenth and nineteenth wards—the Chicago slums. I was spending half of my time at the University in the richest suburb of Chicago where wealth and luxury were displayed on every hand. This afforded me the other side of the picture. At once the severe contrasts of wealth and poverty were thrust concretely before my consciousness.

From home to home I passed among the people in my pastoral work. I knew the wages they received—and—the wages they

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did not receive. I knew what rents they paid, the cost of living—and—the cost of dying. I knew how the men labored from early to late. I knew how the wives and mothers toiled. I knew how the children worked.

I can recall today the very names and first names of the girls that went to the shops and mills, and factories—to put in all their days for miserable weekly doles—their lives bitter with hard labor. I saw their faces pale—the roses fade—the step grow weary—and the grave open—to give them—rest. Over many and many such a grave I read the burial service, "The Lord giveth and the Lord hath taken away." I was reading a lie. I was accusing the Lord of Life of the crime of capitalism, and covering up that crime with ceremonial babble!

I knew the boys and girls who went forth to fill the places of those who went no longer. I saw their young lives offered on the altar of the gain-god Mammon. I remember little Bob, who went for a dole per week to work for a "merchant prince" who lived on the boulevard far away, whose land holdings alone within sound of a gun-shot, were worth $25,000,000.00. I remember Nellie, who worked in the soap factory of the benevolent millionaire soap makers. Nellie fainted at one of the Sunday evening meetings. She actually disturbed God's service with her secular cries, "the soap is heavy—is heavy—too heavy." The big trays she carried across her body. She died—a suicide—at nineteen. Capitalism was too busy gathering profits from the unpaid labor of the girls who took her place to attend the funeral. . . . (The next morning I read in the papers the account of the charity ball. It took a full column to contain the description of the gorgeous apparel of the charity dancers.) I sat down one day to a chicken banquet in a west side church parlor with a group of preachers who were praying for a revival, while a detachment of the army of the unemployed marched through the alley and ate the refuse from our table out of the garbage box—and I remember scores—hundreds of human beings—they march before the eye of memory—a people I knew—I hear their cries beaten, baffled, foot-store, weary, hungry, depressed, broken-spirited—I see that army—the victims of capitalism.

The Crime of Capitalism

I say, I saw with my eyes and heard with my ears, the sight and sound of human struggle and despair, the people were as sheep having no shepherd—the flock invaded by industrial wolves.

I saw, then, in this school of mine into which the Methodist bishop dropped me, what I have seen ever since, and may see today, in every great industrial center of the world. I saw in this school, where the firm face of Fact was teaching me, what I afterward saw in the working-class districts of the great cities of our Western Civilization—New York, London, Paris—**that a Great Lie was walking the earth, dressed up, disguised, masked by respectability, sanctioned by law, and accredited by religion—beating to earth the toiling millions, gathering the product of their hard labor, and placing that product in the hands that never earned it, and leaving the victims thus bruised and blasted with good advice concerning their broken lives.**

I did not know this thing as capitalism, I had not then read the books. The book of life—the Tragedy of the Fact—was burning its way into my soul. I saw the industrial panorama: Millionaires suffocated by their profits; business men gambling with a world's resources and equipment, making security for the few, and chance and insecurity for the many; toiling workers, doing the work of the world, producing all the wealth that glutted the market, yet scarcely able to secure a living; millions of poverty-stricken ones, snatching for crumbs in the economic struggle—degradation, misery, wretchedness, disease, death, and Hell!

I questioned. I watched. I pondered. I prayed until my knees were as callous as a camel's. The whole thing appeared to me like a devastating fire that must be extinguished; like an overwhelming deluge from which the people must be rescued; like unto a plague whose ravages must be stayed.

This business civilization in its structure and process, in its maxims, ideals and results thus revealed itself to me as a ghastly and unforgivable crime against humanity. For the uttermost tyranny possible to a human being, compelled to live by labor, is to control the means of labor, which is his very blood and life.

I shuddered at the appalling curse that modern society was inflicting upon itself by law. I saw the whole commercial world and the Battle for Bread clear through—as a gigantic gamble with the land and the machinery and the products of labor as the stake—I saw the few triumphant winners far in the lead, an irresponsible, godless, impersonal plutocracy—and when I looked again I saw that it was a gamble with the very bodies and souls of my fellowmen! And I rose up and cursed it!——!

The death-head that confronted me on the first day I entered upon that Chicago pastorate was unmasked, and interpreted. It was the Capitalist System of Industry—with its social injustice and economic iniquity.

The Socialist Vision

This bit of autobiography is wholly uninteresting in so far as it concerns the speaker. I recite it to you as a cross-section of the psychology of over 20,000,000 people in this present hour, a psychology which reveals an utter change in the outlook, spirit and program with which this civilization is now being confronted. It is the psychology of one unit in a World-Revolution.

Now these millions with the new revolt and vision, with their propaganda, literature, political platforms, and social reconstruction, constitute a movement second only in significance in history to the appearance of Jesus Christ, and the historical developments of twenty centuries attributable to that transcendent event.

You, preachers of Christ's Gospel, expounders of the oracles of God, professed guides of the conscience, and teachers of truth to men, cannot ignore this tremendous human movement. You cannot afford to pass it by, or oppose it, or give it a mere passive indifferent support. I wish to interpret this new darling of history as the inevitable product of the divine process among men, as the twentieth century fruit of the long travail of the race toward freedom, as the fruition of democracy, as the simple, natural, out-of-doors program of practical Christianity. Socialism in spirit and purpose and program is the twentieth century application of the principles of brotherhood, love and justice which Jesus and his disciples lived and taught when the world was steeped in ignorance and cruelty and despotism held sway two thousand years ago.

Socialism is the next sublime and awe-inspiring step of the Kingdom of God on this earth. It is to sweep all nations, touching all races, including all religions, reaching up to thrones, and down to the lowest mudsills of humanity that past injustice has degraded and wounded. It is to release a new art, a new literature, a new manhood and womanhood. It is today the leaven that is leavening the whole lump. Socialism is the world's Messiah. The struggle, progress and inevitable triumph of Socialism, bringing economic freedom, social justice, and release of mind and soul to our common humanity, will constitute a veritable second coming of Christ.

What is the Essence of Christianity?

Leaving aside consideration of do[illegible]rines and dogmas, of r[illegible] forms and ceremo[illegible]s of the sects or schools of Christianity, let us ask what on its human side is the supreme religious emotion? What is the hall-mark of the essential Christian spirit? What is that feeling and disposition of the heart without which all else professedly Christian is nothing? What purpose toward our fellow-creatures is it that is essentially Christian? What is the very soul and pulse of this red stream that pours out from Calvary to all mankind? What supreme urge in the complex passions and activities of our race bears the unmistakable marks of the divine?

From scripture, from history, from science, and from human character one simple direct answer is forthcoming. The Soul of Christianity is love to humanity. The essence of the Christ-spirit is compassionate concern for the development and welfare, the freedom and perfection of human lives. At its maximum this spirit is abandoned selfless love that "seeketh not her own" that goes forth to set at liberty them that are bruised. At its minimum this spirit is a humanitarian impulse that seeks for justice and freedom and the rights of man incarnated in social institutions. Remove the husk, the forms, the artificialities, the incidental historical accretions, from this mind of Christ and get down to the substance and reality, and we have at the least **a kindly interest in the well-being of our common humanity,** and at the highest a passionate devotion that lays down life even unto death for fellow-men. God is love. "A new commandment I give unto you that ye love one another as I have loved you." "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples that ye love one another."

Let us acknowledge that this love to humanity reaches out to the passionate longing for the eternal and uttermost salvation of human souls. Then the measure of the value of the soul is the standard of the value of a human life. The higher the value you give to the soul in terms of eternity, and at the gate of heaven, the more unspeakably sacred becomes that human life in time, on the earth, in the Battle for Bread. God is no respector of persons or places. The scales of Deity are one for Sunday and Monday, at the altar rail, and in the steel mill or sweatshop. **The Church of Christ cannot dare to make human souls so infinitely valuable on Sunday in the church and at the altar, that it beggars the wealth of heaven to redeem them, and then make them so cheap and worthless on Monday on the highways and at the factory gates, as to leave them the pawns of the capitalist class in their mad profit-hunger.**

Let us take this love of human souls that constraineth us out into the open, out and away from everything that is ecclesiastical or ritualistic and formal, out and away from stained glass, and gothic architecture, and pipe organs, and black-frocked preachers and robed priests—out of the letter that killeth into the spirit that giveth life, let us behold these infinitely valuable human souls out there as dock laborers, and railway workers, and factory hands, and members of the building and textile trades, as wandering out-of-works, hunted like wild animals for some morsel of existence.

Can we stand it to come out into the fields and by-ways where the feet of the Master and the feet of these his brethren tread the actual ways of life? When we have come out of our close religious atmosphere and beheld men, women and children in the actual struggle which existence imposes, what does our love mean?

Socialism is Christianity in Overalls

Just as you have translated your Greek New Testament into plain English words, can we translate this tender love for these infinitely sacred lives into a plain matter-of-fact weekday social program for using land, and running machinery, and utilizing labor, and lending credit? Have you any Monday translation

The present system of Capitalism is the very negation of the whole Christ-spirit and program. In basis, process, and outcome it is a denial of the spirit and teaching of Christ. Capitalism in its universal gamble with the equipment and products of civilization, for mere private profit, and its corresponding exploitation and actual enslavement of human beings is the supreme modern anti-Christ.

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for your Sunday spirit and gospel? Have you any factory and mill version for your prayer-meeting passion for souls? Have you any social and industrial organization that will constitute a material expression, an incarnation of the Sermon on the Mount, the Golden Rule and the divine love for man that radiates from Calvary?

You pray "Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven" on Sunday. Can we form a social system that looks as if we meant that for all the week days? On Sunday you pray, "Give us this day our daily bread." Can we use land, labor and machinery in such a manner from Monday to Saturday so as not to defeat the very Almighty in answering that prayer? We say "Lord, Lord" in our places of worship. Can we "do the things which He said" in our places of business?

Is there a social program, a proposed scientific organization of our economic life, in a political platform, to be inaugurated by the votes and laws of the people, by the processes of democracy, which is the program of the Christ-spirit, executing the Good-Will toward sacred human lives?

So far as this generation is concerned the answer to this question is summed up in one word. That word is Socialism. Socialism is real Christianity in overalls.

Love and Labor

Keeping hot on the trail of a love that concerns itself with precious human lives, our social program must at the very least guarantee equality of opportunity to all to use the resources and equipment of civilization, for making a living, and conversely every form of private monopoly or private administration for private profit which exploits human life or crowds human beings out of opportunity—must be abolished.

If the lives of these our brethren are as precious as the light from Calvary reveals them to be, then we must absolutely make it our first twentieth century business to establish Economic Justice in the use of the land, and machinery, by which they get their bread. This is not a secondary or subordinate consideration; it is primary and fundamental.

The man or preacher who says he loves the souls of men and does not love their lives sufficiently to give his voice, his influence, and his vote to establish Economic Justice is a liar, and the toiling classes have long since scented that falsehood.

There can be no love that excludes Social and Economic Justice. Economic Justice in the equipment for getting our bread is the lowest common denominator into which we can all measure whatever Christianity we have. Any imaginary Christianity that cannot be expressed on its human side in terms of Social and Economic Justice is spiritual humbug, or some vain delusion of superstition. It is not the truth or love of the Carpenter of Galilee, who came delivering slaves, preaching good news to the poor, and setting at liberty them that are bruised.

Organized Christianity must seek to so revolutionize our commercial and economic life as to guarantee to each and to all of the people the material and physical conditions in which we can live free and happy and emancipated human lives on all planes—physical, mental, moral and spiritual.

The present system of Capitalism is the very negation of the whole Christ-spirit and program. In basis, process, and outcome it is a denial of the spirit and teaching of Christ. **Capitalism in its universal gamble with the equipment and products of civilization, for mere private profit, and its corresponding exploitation, and actual enslavement of human beings, is the supreme modern anti-Christ.** Destructive criticism of our present system has about done its work. I need only sum up in a few phrases the indictment, as a background for the constructive Socialist program.

Capitalism Analyzed and Impeached

Under capitalism the five great factors in Bread-getting are exploited for private profit—that is to say, land, machinery, products, labor, and money (or credit).

1. Land, the mother of us all, the source of all wealth, the recipient of all labor is gambled with, speculated with, and monopolized and kept out of use for the sake of the rise of values and the unearned increment, until human beings have nowhere to lay their heads, no place to build a home, no place to expend their labor. Our present system of private monopoly, private speculation, and private control of land and land values is nothing short of a legalized crime. It is immoral, unscriptural, unChristian, inhuman, anti-social, and anarchical—the mother of a whole spawn of social miseries and tragedies.

2. Machinery, the gift of human genius, the awful titan that produces wealth as if by miracle is now privately owned and run for private profit by the lords of industry. The very men that make and run this machinery are reduced to bondage, dependence, and slavery as this master product, industrial machinery, passes from the hand that creates to the hand that owns. Modern mechanical equipment makes men slaves. It is intended under socialism—under truth and justice—to make men free.

3. Labor applied to this magic machinery in transforming natural resources, produces a super-abundance, an almost limitless flood of products for human satisfaction. But this volume of things and products is seized upon by our commercial masters and traded with for profit and profit only. Coal, iron, gas, electric power, water power; grain, cotton, lumber, tools, clothing, foodstuffs—everything is open to the profit-carnival, and to the monopolist, so that it actually turns out that the more we can produce in the shortest time, the sooner multitudes of people are thrown idle on the labor market unable to buy the very things their own hands had created in such abundance.

4. This private property without limit in the land, the machinery, and the products of labor, and the universal gamble in these by the capitalist class, inevitably exploits, robs, defrauds, and enslaves the people—the vast common multitude—the working classes.

The inevitable outcome is that labor—the muscle, skill, brain and energy of men, women, and children—is gambled with. There is no concern as to whether the human being shall be guaranteed a chance to make his bread and be secure in the full product of his labor. That is the last consideration. **And thus these human lives, these human souls, whom we profess to love, in the name of Christ, are sacrificed to the grossest, crudest materialism on the altar of profit to the untold enrichment of the privileged Capitalist Class.**

5. When we add to the indictment the fact that the power of credit, one of the most tremendous forces in the human society, is also left in private hands to be used at will for private profit—is it any wonder that in a civilization where nature and invention and skill is at a maximum of marvelous power to yield wealth and abundance, the poverty of the people should become the curse of our generation, while "wealth sits a monster gorged midst hungry populations."

This Capitalist system is an evil and corrupt tree, and cannot bring forth good fruit. No reform, no philanthropy, no charity, no individualistic personal religion can reach this hurt of the people. The axe must be laid to the root of the tree.

As rapidly as intelligence and good will can act this capitalist system must be overthrown and a social system based upon social justice, economic freedom, and simple human brotherhood must now take its place. This Social Revolution now impending will be the supreme world-drama of the twentieth century. This Social Revolution is the fulfillment of that prophecy that nations shall be born in a day. This Social Revolution is the coming of the full corn in the ear. It is the supreme tip of the beam of time to the "far-off divine event toward which the whole creation moves."

The Socialist Program

Against this background of social injustice of the Capitalist system we present the grand outlines of the socialist program. By presenting the program briefly and simply it will not be lost in a multiplicity of detail, and will remain more vividly in the mind. We shall follow the order of our criticism of capitalism.

1. Land. The minimum demand of socialism on the land question is the taxation of the full unearned increment of land values, in order to break up land monopoly and land speculation. Wherever people aggregate there are social or communal values created in the site on which they aggregate that would never arise except for the association of men in communities. This increase in site values is not due to the skill, capital, labor, or foresight of any individual. These values are an outgrowth of man's life as a social or communal being. His physical labors, his intellectual achievements, and his moral cooperations as a social being in the vicinity of any site on the earth, create social values at that site, and at a radius therefrom, that should accrue to no individual. Such site values or social values are socially created.

Since the association of men in communities creates social needs, which government must supply, and since the same association of men creates values that no individual creates, therefore these land values thus created are the legitimate, scientific, and just source of all revenues to meet all civic and social needs.

Such taxation of the unearned increment of land values would secure the average man in a home or farm or ranch. It would force into use all available lands. Production would increase enormously and the inflated fortunes now arising from the almost diabolical land dealing would be impossible.

Add to this the national or social ownership of arable lands and socially used areas just as we own the great national parks and national forests, of such vast areas as can be cultivated and developed on a large scale, as national, state, or municipal undertakings, and we have a land policy that removes this one first gift of God to man from the domain of mere private greed and exploitation. Here is the first imperative plank of a Christian program for human freedom.

2. **Machinery.** Coming to the realm of industry, a penny postage stamp may be taken as the symbol of socialist policy. Our postal system, including now the parcel post, is conducted by the people, for the people, on principles of public welfare, universal good-will, and democracy. If we add a more democratic organization of the employees, and of their work, in spirit and policy this is the whole of socialist policy.

The people in various countries now own and collectively administer schools, waterworks, street railways, docks and harbors, railways, telegraphs, telephones, etc. Once entered upon this policy is never forsaken. San Francisco buys a short street railway, and so successful does it prov[illegible]t the city at once extends the line, and seriously contemplates municipal ownership of its entire street railway system.

All the modern industrial procedure is socialism in embryo, socialism in the making right before our eyes. It extends the domain of the wealth that is common. It lessens and limits the wealth of the plutocracy, and it tends to secure the necessary private individual wealth while cutting the arteries of huge private fortunes made out of public utilities. Socialism is thus a defense of private property for the hand that creates it.

Roughly speaking there are three kinds of ownership of property. There is the ownership of purely personal property such as home, furniture, clothing, books, personal income and purchases therefrom for personal and family use—in short all the necessities, comforts, and even satisfactions of life. This kind of private ownership the socialists defend, and indeed we wish to see every individual and every family secure in the ownership of these things and the labor necessary to obtain them.

A second kind of private property is the natural savings that normal prudence and thrift and foresight lays aside for future use. Such private property, as a reserve against emergencies, socialism stands to conserve and defend. We would seek to increase it and secure it against the private looting now proceeding so respectably in financial circles.

But there is a third kind of private property that socialists demand shall become public property—that is property in the most important means of production, or equipment of large scale industry. At least the most efficiently organized industries should become public property. This is the kind of property that is used to rob, exploit, and enslave the people, and actually to deny the workers any considerable degree of the necessary personal private property or private savings, while enriching beyond the dreams of avarice the owners of these great industries.

The collective ownership and control of this kind of property will end the present capitalist domination of human life. A one-cent postage stamp may symbolize the idea and preach this socialist program.

With abolition of land monoply and private control of large scale industry and the products of labor for private profit, and the security of the state for the savings of the people human labor and human life will be emancipated from economic dependence and economic servitude. The evils, the industrial tragedies, the social hells of our present system will be abolished. The next great stage of human freedom—industrial and economic freedom—will be added to the religious and political freedoms already attained.

The New Era will present new strifes, new aristocracies, new aims, new goals, but other generations unborn will face the problems arising therein. Ours is the glorious task of completing the physical emancipation of the race, and launching our children and children's children upon an age of social and economic brotherhood in which we believe the fair flowers of intellectual and spiritual beauty will bloom as never before in this Garden of the Lord.

Final Appeal for Action

In presenting this cause of the working class and the program of Socialism to you, as preachers of the gospel, I do not ask you to alter your theology, or abate your zeal for the salvation of souls. Any theology that proceeds on the basis that a human being is more sacred than the profit that is made out of his blood and labor, will do; and any honest zeal for souls may afford enough simple regard for human beings to rescue them from the devouring maw of the mammon gods of capitalism.

Real genuine Christianity can never stand in the way of Socialism. Only some hypocrisy or superstition, or moral dodging in Christ's name can oppose this cause.

I therefore make this appeal: That in the name of Him who died for men, you incorporate into the radius of Christian passion, purpose and program, an intelligent, aggressive and militant attack on the capitalist system; not upon its evil fruits with petty reforms, but on its basic roots and principles, with revolutionary political and social programs, and for its abolition.

One whole quarter of a century has now passed in which the church should have been in the van, in the socialist movement. The church should have been the champion and deliverer of the poor, and the toilers in the past twenty-five years, in which private individuals and corporations have systematically and under the aegis of law robbed and defrauded and degraded the masses. There has been no eye to pity, no arm to save.

And now this socialist cause has grown, as primitive Christianity itself did, from a despised and persecuted sect to a power that affects thrones and empires. But it has grown without the assistance and in spite of the hostility and opposition or indifference of the professed religious classes.

Now, therefore, as the profit-hunger of the plutocracy becomes more insatiable, and the iron heel of the capitalist class becomes more ruthless; now, as the masses are beginning to awake from political deception and moral stupor; now, as the simple program of social ownership of wealth-producing equipment begins to be seen as the new principle of a world's freedom, I appeal to the preachers of the gospel of the lowly carpenter to renounce your allegiance and moral support of the capitalist system, as men once before renounced their support to the system of chattel slavery.

Even this late, as the battle grows fierce, between man and mammon, come over into the socialist movement and help us. Come up to the Help of the Lord against the mighty unjust Goliaths of Capitalism, the anarchs of plutocracy.

I beseech you to repent for yourselves and for your people of your past spiritual neglect that allowed this monstrous social injustice to grow to such awful proportions. I beseech you to lay down your lives for the sheep, and to drive away the industrial wolves which kill and destroy the people.

Think of the number of the preachers of the gospel, of your ramifying influence in all the cities and villages, and into the homes of the people! Think of the immense force of talent and ability of the ministry! Think of the tremendous physical and material equipment, which the people have paid for out of their earnings, which are in your possession, in the shape of lands, and church buildings, and schools!

Just ponder for a moment what a world upheaval would result if the power of the pulpit and of the church was ranged on the side of overthrowing this un-Christian system of Capitalism, and of establishing the brotherhood of the co-operative commonwealth.

Think of the new thrill of hope that would stir the hearts of the masses if the tremendous moral and spiritual machinery of the church were a menace to the rule and ruin of the profit-mongers! Think of the tremendous religious revival of genuine Christianity that would result from such a stand.

The church wonders what is the matter. Why she is losing her hold on the masses. Why she is so powerless to stem the tide of materialism and mammonism. Here is your secret. Let the church show a solid front to the fundamental injustices of Capitalism; let the church stand forth as the champion of the poor against capitalist oppression; let the church preach the teachings of Jesus, and point out their social application on the field of labor and industry, and the greatest moral and spiritual awakening the world has ever known will break forth. But let the church continue to give any kind of moral backing to the present system and she will become a hissing and a byword among men, and will be found in the end apostate to the Christ.

All this effort and program for Economic Justice I do not ask as a side issue, as an incident, as something to turn you away from the mind of Christ, but as the most natural, normal, sane and simple outpouring of the spirit of Him who was moved with compassion on the multitudes, and whom the ruling class of his day put to death as an interrupter of their ruthless disregard of human lives.

Take the substance, spirit, and social program of Socialism, and you have the next grand wave of conquest of the Christ-spirit in human history.

"Stand, thou, where all the brave of ages
stood,
Help mould the brotherhood."

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Reply of J. Stitt Wilson to Chicago Methodist Preachers

I suppose I must give you another twenty-five years to understand. The two most prominent opponents of my remarks have utterly evaded the issue which I presented to you. In the preparation of my address I carefully avoided any side issue. I sought to cleave to the main point. And I did it. But you did not.

Dr. Dancy complains that I am a destructionist, that my speech lacks constructive thought, and he calls me a William Lloyd Garrison. I accept the challenge. Who was William Lloyd Garrison? What did he do? He called upon the church of his generation to repent of their complicity with the industrial iniquity of chattel slavery. He did not ask them to mitigate the incidental wrongs of slavery; he struck at the root of the tree. He attacked no individual slave holder. He said, "I will be as uncompromising as truth, as searching as justice; I shall not equivocate, and I will be heard." He warned the nation not to trifle with that great evil. Neither the church nor the nation heeded his prophetic warning; and the sin of chattel slavery was washed out in a deluge of blood; a national tragedy unnecessary, had the church of that day performed its duty.

I come to you in the name of humanity and of God to impeach the present capitalistic system. I have called you, as preachers of Christ's gospel, to repent of your allegiance to this system. It is no answer to my challenge to evade that demand and deal with petty subordinate elements of our program.

The system that permits men to privately own human beings and exploit them, history, said William Lloyd Garrison, will wipe out. And I say unto you that the system which permits the few to gamble with the world's resources for private profit, IS DOOMED, and all the preachers of all the sects cannot keep the capitalist system on earth.

I have come to you on your own ground, speaking your own language, appealing to your own Scriptures, and beseeching you in the name of Christ to come up to the help of the people against the anarchs of plutocracy. And it breaks my heart to see men of such training, and with such tremendous machinery behind them, evade and dodge this question.

I will give you another twenty-five years; and by that time Socialism will have swept on and over you; and the capitalist system for which you apologise will have vanished from the earth.

Large Inspiring Christian Socialist Meetings at Toronto

Carr Replies to Collins, the Roman Catholic Anti-Socialist Lecturer, Before an Immense Audience

The Toronto, Canada, comrades know how to do big things in a way that should be told for the encouragement of the workers everywhere. The recently organized Christian Socialist Fellowship there decided to have Rev. Edward Ellis Carr, the General Secretary, come for seven lectures on Religion and Socialism. Six lectures were given in churches and the closing lecture in a hall. James M. Conner, Secretary of the Toronto Center, enthusiastically writes:

"It is said that when the Mohammedans have visited Mecca seven times they are admitted to the seventh heaven. The members of the Toronto C. S. F. have been taken up to the seventh heaven of delight by hearing the magnificent addresses on Socialism by Comrade Carr. In all the churches he received a very cordial welcome and six ministers have been won for Socialism." This makes eight ministers who are now members of the Toronto C. S. F. and more are clearly on the way.

Socialist Meetings In Churches

The idea that Socialist speeches are not welcome in the churches is a mistake. Some preachers and some laymen do not like to hear about Socialism, but some do, and their number is increasing every day.

At the Earlscourt Methodist Church three hundred or more men assembled at 4 p. m., Sunday, May 11, to hear Dr. Carr speak on "Christian Socialism." This proved to be a very red and revolutionary kind. The speaker delivered his message with fiery boldness, and when his time was up the audience vociferously urged him to go on.

The 7 p. m. meeting at the North Parkdale Methodist Church was attended by twelve hundred people who crowded the house. The theme was "The Kingdom of God a Social State," and Comrade Carr won favorable consideration for Socialism from many. The pastor of this church, Rev. J. C. Speer, D. D., one of the most prominent ministers in Canadian Methodism, is a member of the Christian Socialist Fellowship—and a royal soul.

The High Park Methodist Church opened its doors on Monday night, June 1, to the Socialist workers. The subject was "What Socialism Has Done for the World," and the comrades as well as many others, obtained a larger and more inspiring view of the Socialist movement they they had formerly.

Tuesday night, June 2, the meeting was in the Centennial Methodist Church and the theme was "Religion and Revolution." The clear-cut Marxian character of Bible Socialism was shown with startling definiteness that shocked many into deep thoughtfulness upon the subject. The most radical Socialists were rejoiced at the strength and clearness of the revolutionary message.

The Riverdale Presbyterian Church presented an encouraging audience on Thursday night to hear "Jesus and the Class Struggle" discussed. Tremendous interest prevailed throughout the meeting. The local pastor spoke and prayed like a Socialist.

"The Mark of the Beast" was given at the Riverdale Methodist Church on Thursday night to an audience that leaned forward to catch every word of the stirring and terrible arraignment of capitalism from the Bible viewpoint which was shown to be exactly in harmony with Marxian Socialism. Dr. Ockley, the pastor, welcomed the speaker as a brother and a comrade. He joined the C. S. F. that night.

Perhaps the most blistering exposure of capitalism in the whole series of lectures was made at the Westmoreland Street Methodist Church on [illegible] to a large audience in the lecture on "The Bible and Surplus Value," which shows the plain teachings of the Old and New Testaments upon the subject of rent, interest and profit.

Being much wearied with the strenuous week's work, Dr. Carr rested on Sunday—except by yielding to an urgent request to address an open air meeting of several hundred in the evening.

On Monday morning, June 8, he spoke on "Nehemiah's Revolutionary Message" to perhaps fifty preachers who had arranged for a special meeting for this purpose. Deep intelectual and spiritual interest was manifested by the preachers. Some of them seemed stunned by the startling and convincing Bible proofs of Socialism, while others were cordially receptive, a few being Socialists already. Sixteen copies of Vail's "Militant and Triumphant Socialism" were sold to these preachers, though some had it already; which shows something of the interest they felt.

On Monday night at the Memorial Baptist Church Dr. Carr gave one of his biggest and best lectures on "The Reign of the Working Class in Bible Prophecy." The interest was intense and great good was doubtless accomplished.

The closing lecture of this series was at Broadway Hall on Tuesday night. The theme, "Why We May Expect Socialism Soon." Several hundred people applauded heartily, and the questions and general discussions following showed that both materialists and Christians were immensely pleased. One of the most noticeable features of Comrade Carr's lectures is that they reach the hearts of atheists, agnostics and "heretics" as well as Christian believers. He is fearlessly, some think fearfully frank, and his sword cuts both ways; nevertheless Christian believers, Jews, agnostics and atheists all gather around him after the meetings to show their affectionate appreciation. This tends to prove that the hearts of all men may be touched with the appeal for justice and brotherhood in the name of God. Religion without justice is a folly or a fraud.

A goodly number of new members were added to the C. S. F. center, and the Social Democratic party was also strengthened. The Socialist Labor party men and the members of the Socialist Party of North America, seemed to appreciate Comrade Carr, and a deeper feeling of unity among all comrades is reported.

So great was the success and encouragement resulting from these meetings that the Toronto comrades are talking enthusiastically of having Comrade Carr return next autumn for a longer campaign. He delivered eleven lectures in this series.

The work of Comrades Rev. R. B. St. Clair, J. Ed. Houghton, James M. Conner and Wm. Pettit in arranging for the meetings and working for their success deserves great credit; and, not the least, the labor and generosity of Mrs. Houghton in caring for Comrade Carr as hostess for neatly two weeks was much appreciated by him and the comrades who supported the meetings.

REPLY TO PETER COLLINS

After the series of lectures on Socialism and Religion by Dr. Carr at Toronto, (the plan having been made preivously,) the Roman Catholic Society, the Knights of Columbus, brought Peter Collins to the city to tell the people that no Christian could be a Socialist because, he declared, Socialism stands absolutely for atheism and free love and against religion, the home, private property, labor unions and everything good. This sort of stuff sounded cheap and hollow after Comrade Carr's many convincing lectures on Socialism and the Bible and in the face of the ministers and church people of Toronto who had come out for Socialism. But by coloring the town red with big posters announcing his lecture on "The Menace of Socialism," and using much space in the newspapers, the Anti-Socialist committee enticed about two thousand people to hear Collins, hundreds of whom were Socialists who made things very interesting for the speaker. But he is an able, bold and witty man, and his meeting made an impression so great that the Social Democratic Party decided to ask Comrade Carr to return to Toronto and reply to Collins, on Saturday night, June 20, which he did.

The Socialist committee secured Massey Hall, where Collins had spoken, and by earnest efforts succeeded on short notice in gathering an audience of about twenty-five hundred people. The **Toronto World** stated there were three thousand people there. At any rate, it was a magnificent and exceedingly enthusiastic audience, larger by several hundred than Collins himself had.

Dr. Carr used the report of Peter Collins' address that was printed in the "Catholic Register," as the basis of his reply, and showed in a masterful manner exactly where Socialism actually stands with reference to labor unions, private property, religion and the home, and why. My, how the comrades did yell! It was a great inning for Socialism in Toronto.

Controller James Simpson, a local Socialist leader, took the chair and handled the meeting in a very able manner. When Comrade Carr began to speak a number of people, presumably Roman Catholics, began to interrupt, trying to disconcert him; but the veteran lecturer made such good natured yet crushing retorts that the disturbers soon concluded that discretion was the better part of valor and subsided. Comrades who got near them said that these early disturbers soon became interested, presently began to lean forward to catch every word, and ended by joining in the cheering before the speaker was half way through.

The question meeting which followed the lecture was very exciting and extremely interesting. The **World** reported that "Dr. Carr answered the questions in such a masterful manner that all seemed satisfied." Comrades who best know Toronto people declare that there were hundreds of Roman Catholics present and that many of them went away saying they were convinced that Socialism is right.

Dr. Carr did not attack the Roman church. He clearly, forcibly and eloquently showed what Socialism really is, why all classes of people of every creed need it sadly, and proved that the Bible, the Church Fathers and every principle of justice and brotherhood are in harmony with Socialist demands.

It is reported that a representative of the Knights of Columbus came for the express purpose of challenging Comrade Carr to debate a man of their choice at some later date, but after hearing his overwhelming lecture, decided not to issue their challenge. If the Socialists anywhere want a man to reply to Peter Collins, or any other speaker who charges Socialism with being an enemy of religion and the home, let them send for Comrade Carr.

The Toronto C. S. F. now has over sixty members and other applications are pending. If the larger centers in "The States" do not hustle we will soon have the largest center in Toronto.

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FIRE THIS AT THEM.

Comrades, J. Stitt Wilson herein furnishes powerful ammunition to use against the fortresses of capitalism, but YOU MUST FIRE IT AT THEM if it is to do its work.

Every church member in your vicinity, especially every Methodist, should receive a copy of this paper. If they do, you must order a bundle and hand them one.

Every preacher in America, especially every Methodist preacher, should receive a copy of this Wilson article. We will send them out at the rate of two cents per copy addressing the wrappers ourselves. How much can you send for this purpose? It will take over $2,000.00 to send one copy to each preacher in America. Send all the money you can for this purpose. Let's reach the Methodist preachers anyway.

Bundle orders two cents per copy. 25 copies or over at one cent per copy. $8.00 per thousand for this 8-page issue only. Please order at once so that we may know how many to print before throwing out the type.

FUND FOR PREACHERS AND TEACHERS

Several comrades sent money for the preachers' and teachers' fund since last report. This money is used to send the **Christian Socialist** six months to preachers and teachers. There are hundreds of thousands of preachers and teachers. Their influence is tremendous and nation-wide. They must be reached with the Socialist message. **Will you help?** The following donations to this fund have come since last issue:

John Davidson, Canada	$ 1.00
A. J. Sholes, Montana	1.00
Mrs. M. R. Young, California	1.00
Ohannes Varshag,	1.00
Mrs. Sarah Gilliam, Texas	.50
Julia Eldred, Washington	1.00
J. P. Dickey, Washington	2.00
	7.50
Previously reported	24.20
Total to date	31.70

ITALIANS WIN BIG VICTORY.

Italian Socialists have just gained one of the greatest victories in the history of the party in the municipal elections which are now taking place throughout the nation. They secured complete control of the city of Milan, the largest city in Italy and also the industrial and financial center of the country. It has 600,000 inhabitants. There were 64 Socialist councilmen elected, while the opposition secured but 16.

SWISS VICTORY

The Socialists of Switzerland have captured another in parliament. This makes nineteen.

English Church Socialist League

The Church Socialist League of Great Britain has just concluded its annual conference in Preston, with a large attendance and much enthusiasm. Rev. J. L. Donaldson is the chairman.

Colorado Miners Arming

Max Eastman writing for **The Masses** from the Colorado coal fields presents a convincing but deplorable view of the inhuman brutality of the mine-owners, the gunmen employed by mine-owners and the state militia in their dealing with the strike situation. He is convinced from conversation with miners and their wives, with survivors of the Ludlow massacre and with operators and their wives and by the direct report of Elsa England, correspondent of the **Independent**, who had a notable interview with prominent ladies of Trinidad whose husbands are directly or indirectly interested in the mines and whose language was senselessly (or merely capitalist class consciously) cruel and bloodthirsty, that the reports of the fiendish manner in which men, women and children have been treated by the hirelings of the mine-owners in Colorado have not been exaggerated and that the terrible story of the deliberate massacre of women and children at Ludlow is correct.

And, as the people of Colorado have repeatedly voted by large majorities for laws which if enforced would do away with that sort of thing, there seems no other course but for the workers there to arm and fight for their rights under the law.

Publicly Owned Coal Lands the Object of Contest Now

John Murray, manager of the United News Writers, says:

"Over twenty languages are spoken in the coal camps of this vicinity. This means a leaven of Socialism in the most fertile soil in the world—an international group. It was the fighting men back from the Balkans that led in the grapple with the militia. This means that the guns will sprout again when capitalism gives another turn to the screw. Nothing can check the struggle now on in Colorado, because this state possesses a million and a half acres of publicly owned coal lands (State and Federal), a greater area of coal than in all Pennsylvania. It is the bait that stirred the greed of capitalism to butcheries in Ludlow. These conditions will force Colorado to be the first common owner and operator of coal mines in the United States. For these reasons the strength of the entire labor and Socialist movement must back the working class fight here."

How Miners Celebrated July 4th

Trinidad, Colo., July 4.—This day in the coal camps was celebrated in a truly novel manner. Neither fireworks, oratory nor music fixed the attention of the coal miners, but from hand to hand was passed a little pamphlet which was eagerly read by the English speaking and duly translated to those who had battled in the Balkans and fought again for liberty at Ludlow. **Here in print was the law, the law of the land, and page after page told how the American people had the right to bear arms and fight just as they had done at Ludlow.** Thousands of miners read this little book today throughout Colorado, and what effect it may have on the future of the State is the question upmost in the minds of both miner and mine-owner.

This booklet reads in part as follows:

What is Government?

What is the foundation of a just government? The New Testament says, "When a strong man armed keepeth his house his goods are in peace." (Luke. 11:21.)

The Constitution of the United States declares that "The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to James Madison, written in 1787, said: "I hold that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing and as necessary in in the political world as a storm is in the physical."

That the rebellion here referred to was not a bloodless one appears from Jefferson's letter to Stephen Smith, November 13, 1792:

"Can history produce an instance of rebellion so honorably conducted (referring to Shay's rebellion)? I say nothing of its motives; they were founded in ignorance, not wickedness. God forbid that we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion. * * * What country before ever existed a century and a half without a rebellion, and what country can preserve its liberties if their rulers are not warned from time to time that their people preserve the spirit of resistance? **Let them take up arms.** The remedy is to set them right as to facts, pardon and pacify them. What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? **The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants."**

A Disarmed People Slaves

Says John Cartwright, in his "The English Constitution Produced and Illustrated:"

"Self-preservation of the individual and of the community by **free arms,** differs essentially from self-preservation by **legislation.** In an extensive territory, **legislation** necessarily must, and with safety may, be executed by **deputies,** whose duties are performed at a central point of the territory; and who cannot enslave an armed people: whereas **armsbearing,** to be a defense either of the community or of the individual, must be **personal;** and is equally required at every point and part of the territory. Besides, the defense of a **disarmed** people by a standing army is in its very nature complete **enslavement."**

Right of Resistance

Writes DeLolme in his noted essay on the "Right of Resistence:"

"But all these privileges of the people, considered in themselves, are but feeble defenses against the real strength of those who govern. All those provisions, all those reciprocal rights, necessarily suppose that things remain in their legal and settled course; what then would be the resource of the people, if ever the prince, suddenly freeing himself from all restraint and throwing himself, as it were, out of the constitution, should no longer respect either the person or the property of the subject, and either should make no account of his conventions with parliament, or attempt to force it implicitly to submit to his will? * * * **It would be resistance."**

Citing the case of an English constable, who being out of his precinct, arrested a woman and in turn was killed by a man that took the woman's part, DeLolme thus gives the opinion of Chief Justice Holt at the trial of the man for murder of the constable:

"If one be imprisoned by an unlawful authority, it is sufficient authority to all people, out of compassion, much more when it is done under color of justice; and when the liberty of the subject is invaded, it is provocation to all the subjects of England. A man ought to be concerned for the MAGNA CHARTA and the laws; and if anyone against the laws imprison a man, he is an offender against Magna Charta."

Considering in relation to this case the illegal arrest and imprisonment of Mother Jones in Trinidad, would it not have been the legal right of the people to have freed her by force of arms even if in so doing every militiaman surrounding her jail had been wiped off the face of the earth?

Preachers, Priests and Prostitutes

In the matter of the ministers at Trinidad one of them recounts his experience with General Chase, telling how that officer refused to allow the ministers to search for bodies of the dead in the Ludlow camp and how Chase stated that "Preachers, priests and prostitutes are all the same to me."

Not only meetings and ministers, but even theaters and newspapers, are pointed out as things to be suppressed by the "Guide."

Shoot Or Be Shot

Let no one think that the mere recounting of lawless acts, savagery and murder by militia is the purpose of this writing. The history of Colorado is a continuous repetition of such crimes against the people. Have you forgotten Governor Peabody, General Bell and Captain Wells in the time of the striking Western Federation of Miners, when Judge Stevens said, "A very grave question is presented as to whether it is the striking miners or the Governor of Colorado and the National Guard that are engaged in insurrection and rebellion against the laws of the state?"

The point is, and Judge Stevens acknowledged it in 1903, just as President Woodrow Wilson has acknowledged it in 1914, that militia are gunmen and gunmen are militia, and that the people must arm themselves and shoot before justice can be obtained in this capitalist-ridden country.

If you want a legal precedent for arming you have it in the very words of your constitution.

If you want an example as to what will happen to you if you do not arm, regard the fate of the helpless camp of women and children at Ludlow.

If you are a woman and think your sex will protect you, consider the case of white-haired Mother Jones, jailed for months without warrant of law.

There is no choice, be you man, woman or child; you must be prepared to fight [illegible] the thugs who rule will repeat the Ludlow massacre at the first opportunity.

On the other hand, an armed people will be the first step toward peace—lasting peace.

The ballot that is not backed by the bullet is a farce.

The strike that cannot at the last resort defend itself with arms is a massacre.

And the court that will not deal out "justice" to the most powerful is yet to be established on earth.

"God," said Napoleon, "is on the side of [illegible] strongest battalions."

Arm, then, or the pit for your carcass is already dug.

The attitude which Jesus took toward the Zealots should guide his Church today in our attitude toward the Syndicalists. He showed the Zealots another and a better way out of the terrible situation in which the people were placed.—Rev. J. H. Melish.

THE NATION'S PULSE

(BY IRWIN TUCKER.)

With all admiration for President Wilson's integrity of purpose and moral power, one is compelled to remark that in his interview with the clubwomen's delegation on June 30, the President looked very much like a small boy's definition of an oyster.

"Who," queried the teacher, smiling pleasantly, "can tell me what an oyster is?"

Johnny held up his hand.

"Yes?" said the teacher.

"A oyster," stated Johnny, "is a fish built like a nut."

Woodrow Wilson, in his brief but calamitous conversation with the embattled ladies, appeared very much like a fish acting like a nut. They had him tied up in an impasse, a cul de sac, a closed bag; and the President dropped some of his dignity in getting out of it. The cleverness of the delegation of women in impaling this past master of delicate eloquence ought to remove any doubt from such minds as still entertain it, that women as politicians will out-adept the trained. And the women will remember on the 8th of next November.

* * *

Roosevelt in Good Trim

Theodore Roosevelt's return from Spain showed him in fine fighting form, all except his voice. In his Pittsburgh speech he struck one loud, clear note which, if Perkins cannot succeed in drowning it, marks one great step forward in the process of harmonizing national discords.

"We cannot destroy real monopoly by attacking its legal form. Ye must find out and take away the economic basis of monopoly, which is a very different thing."

This is what Socialists have shouted from all the housetops at their command for a generation. But the Colonel omitted one very important point in his speech. He did not explain what is the economic basis of monopoly.

He must go further; he must explain. And the only possible or acceptable explanation is this:

"Private ownership in public necessities is the basis of all monopoly."

And when the Colonel starts out to destroy **THAT**, he will have admitted a root principle of Socialism.

Roosevelt is admirable as a preceptor. Line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little, he is instilling the cardinal points of Socialism into the minds of the American folk. His picturesque personality rams things home as tons of books and pamphlets would not do.

The little fact that when Roosevelt was in power all these things did not trouble him in the least; that he made deals with every corrupt corporation which could be induced to lend him money for campaign expenses—what difference does that make? Whether he is absolutely sincere in the matter, or is merely angry—what of it? St. Paul in prison said:

"What then? In every way, whether of pretense or in truth, Christ is proclaimed."

* * *

Collapse of A B C

The mediators have quit Niagara Falls in disgust; because Pancho Villa and Carranza were so busy conquering Mexico that they had no time to parley. As a means of distracting the world's attention from that steady, ceaseless march on Mexico City, the Mediation Conference were admirable. But their value was purely imaginary from the start. No great cause can be settled by outside parties. "Arbitrators" who are not of the bone and sinew of the contending parties cannot patch up a peace. The A B C mediators acted like children from the start. The Mexican peons demand land, and will have it; and until they have their lands, and the hidalgos are expropriated, Mexico will not be at peace.

* * *

Tolls Bill Passed.

President Wilson's persistent pressure compelled the passage of the repeal of the Panama Canal Tolls exemption bill. This means that American coastwise shipping will be on the same footing as foreign bottoms; also that the trans-continental railroads will have to meet no competition as a result of the canal's existence. One of the arguments for building the Panama Canal was the promised reduction in railroad rates as a result of water competition. This would have benefited the nation as a whole. But the President hoped to conciliate Japan and Great Britain according to specific charges to this end were made on the floor of the Senate and hammered through the repeal bill.

* * *

Government Ownership Hearing.

By the Shreveport Railroad Rate case, the Supreme Court has brought the railroads one step nearer becoming Government property. That decision provides that whenever an intrastate rate is so closely involved in an interstate transaction that control of one involves the control of the other, Congress and not the State, is entitled to rule.

Government ownership of the railroads must inevitably follow this ruling. The railroads cannot longer endure regulation without responsibility. Mellen's disclosures, the exposure by Clifford Thorne of the juggling and falsehoods put up by the railroads in the 5 per cent increase plea, and the terrific roast by the Interstate Commerce Commission in announcing its decision on that plea has prepared the popular mind.

* * *

The House of Representatives will not impeach Judge Speer of Georgia, although it finds the charges against him to be largely true. This makes one step more toward the recall of judges.

* * *

John Wanamaker of Philadelphia testified before the Industrial Relations Commission that he favors labor unions. He criticized John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for causing the federal troops to enter Colorado; he advocated public ownership of railroads, telegraphs and other utilities, and criticized the demand for higher freight rates.

FOR THE RICH ONLY

(By Edward Ellis Carr.)

The park boards of Chicago have refused to permit omnibus automobiles upon the boulevards. These beautiful driveways are to be reserved for the rich only; that is, for those who have private cars. The motor buses which are forbidden to desecrate the boulevards are used only by the poor, the common people, who can not afford private autos. If, therefore the common people desire to see the more beautiful drives and mansions of Chicago they will be permitted to trudge the weary miles on foot on the sidewalks; but they may not buy a ride in a public automobile upon these sacred roadways.

In lectures we have often called attention to the fact that the men who dig up the hard roads with much sweaty exertion, who crush the heavy rock and place it in for ballast, who mix and melt and spread the steaming asphalt which adds suffocating fumes and heat to the sweltering summer sunshine, and who upon steaming, smoking rollers level the surface to the smoothness of a floor and press it into hardness like iron for the rubber tires of the "private cars only" are never able to afford a vehicle worthy of the road they have built. Those boulevards are not, like the kingdom of God, for the tired, exhausted workers, but for the rubber-tired, non-producing, rich idlers. And even when a weary working man wishes to cross a boulevard to trudge another street "suited to common people" he does so at the peril of his life from the swift moving horseless carriages. As the bright little boy in Sunday school explained the text, "The quick and the dead!"—"those who jump quick enough are saved, the others are soon dead."

The reasons actually given by the park boards are puerile as compared with the advantages to common folks of having a chance to see the most beautiful parts of Chicago, and show the contempt that these favored gentlemen have for the working classes, and for all who have not hogged enough to afford a private car.

Labor unions, Socialist locals, and all truly progressive societies should protest vigorously against this rank injustice toward the common people who do all the useful work.

* * *

PROHIBITION RULES WEST VIRGINIA

The Yost prohibition amendment recently carried in West Virginia went into effect July 1 and the liquor traffic died a legal death then in wild carousal and crime harmonious with its life. During the last few days old Bacchus ruled his revelers as of yore, shameless debauchery and senseless murder marking the closing hours. Four men lost their lives in drunken brawls while the liquor dealers sold their stock at reduced prices and made the "wets" sodden with fire water as they swinishly sought to drown their grief because of state-wide prohibition with imbecile intemperance. These last days and nights of shame and horror increased the joy that sober people feel because the state has gone dry.

The working people will be aided by prohibition toward their goal of economic emancipation. The Socialists of Finland, Austria, Germany and other European countries are taking advanced ground on the questions of total abstinence and prohibition; the International Socialist Congress at Vienna is to discuss the liquor question as a special order, and we believe it is time for the Socialist party of America to make clear and strong declarations on these subjects. A sober people will more quickly become a free people.

* * *

THE PRESTIGE OF JESUS.

"I am not a Christian in the conventional sense; . . . but I have the habits of my upbringing, . . . and I want to use the prestige of Jesus to call attention to his economic teaching." So writes a devout and active Socialist worker of the east; and the thought is worthy of much amplification.

"The prestige of Jesus" is one of the mightiest forces in the world and is destined to become far mightier. Long foretold by prophets of old, he came into the world as a working man, as a social outcast; therefore, in an age when chattel slavery and wage slavery were cruel and hopeless to the last extreme. He toiled diligently for many years, yet was too poor to own a home. "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head." This he said not only of himself, but of the average man, the Son of Man, the vast majority of the whole human race. Rent, interest and profit on wages, profit on food stuffs, profit on religion, stopping not at robbery and murder for gain, ravaged the people as horrible beasts of prey. Against this condition of affairs he hurled himself with divine love for mankind and dauntless courage, teaching the common people the truths that shall yet make man free politically, economically, morally, and